1: Fitzgerald H-5 (1937-1938) AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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341

Kuan Yin island in Erh Hai lake.

533

Musician at the Gwer
Sa La festival.

[Face p. 94]

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527 The morning of New Year's Day is saluted with a prolonged discharge of fire crackers at the front gate of the house and in the courtyard, but the Min Chia do not celebrate the last night of the old year by a more or less continuous fusillade of crackers as is customary in North China. As soon as the crackers are fired off the women of the household come out and light large sticks of incense, which are placed on either side of all the doors opening on to the courtyard, and before the front gate as well. Incense sticks and flowers are also placed on the altar of the ancestors in the main reception room, and the floor of this room is spread with fresh green pine needles. Doors and gateways are also decorated with green pine boughs, and new paper strips bearing the characters for good luck, wealth, happiness, etc., are pasted on to lintels and pillars.

527 769 788 Immediately the morning meal is eaten the women bring out a square table and set it up as an altar in the courtyard, just as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Covered with a rich piece of red silk embroidery it is spread with dishes of sweetmeats and cups of wine, but also on this occasion the ancestral tablets themselves are ranged in two rows facing each other along the sides of the altar, with an incense burner in the middle. Incense sticks are planted in the crevices of the courtyard before this altar, but there is no fire as in the Shu Pao ceremony. Meanwhile hired musicians, none of whom are in fact Buddhist monks, arrive with their instruments and are seated on both sides of the main reception room behind the altar table. They begin to play music and to recite sutras, male members of the family, especially the elder sons, taking a part in the playing of musical instruments from time to time. This music and recitation is kept up all day until about four in the afternoon. As soon as the musical recitation of sutras has started the members of the family, led by the eldest male present, and followed in order

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manners of the men. A girl is perhaps not as unprotected and alone as she seems, for if any young man attempted to insult her or misbehave, the other women present and the older men would at once put a stop to it. The Min Chia, although a lively, talkative and gay people, have an admirable code of public behaviour and an innate sense of decorum.

Girls and women do other heavy work, made possible by the fact that they never had the Chinese custom of foot binding. A large part of the porterage of goods from the lake shore to the city and from Hsia Kuan is done by women and girls, who also do most of the grass cutting on the higher slopes of the mountain. They assist in the handling of boats, and in planting rice fields. This work is usually done by a group of girls working together, who beguile the time by singing improvised songs, always using the same traditional tune. The same kind of song, to the same tune with its prolonged falling final note, is sung by boatmen and by grass cutters on the mountain, and, while the tune is always the same the words are made up for the occasion.

When a girl is seventeen years old, or a boy nineteen to twenty, the Min Chia consider it time for them to marry. In practice they will already have been betrothed since childhood and the only thing to be decided is the day which, in accordance with the horoscope of the engaged pair, is most suitable and auspicious for the marriage. The betrothal, which is sometimes concluded when the children are quite small, is arranged by a marriage-broker, usually an elderly woman or man acquainted with both families, for the future bride and groom must never meet before the marriage, and it is not considered good taste for the two families to negotiate directly. The marriage-broker receives no fee for his trouble, but he acts as president of the marriage feast, and is usually the kind of person who

4: Liu K-4 (no date) 1944 AE3 Sino-Tibetan
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562 the women you must state your problems or put your request. If you ask a man whether you can stay for the night, or if you are asking for water or fire, he simply looks at you and then turns to the woman. She is the man-of-affairs; the man's job is to smoke his pipe.

161 591 Again, due to the hostile environment, not only is the population scanty, but the birth rate is low and the death rate high. Therefore, travelling in the mountain valleys in Lifan one often sees deserted homes due to the disappearing of families without heirs. In order to keep the family name from disappearing, there is the custom of Shang-men 上門. It's direct translation is "up the door". Its meaning is for a man to marry into a woman's home and inherit the family property with the understanding that the children must be named after the mother's family. But as this custom works out many men who go out trading in other regions will marry into a family and live there for one or two years, and then return home to his first family, and later on he'll shuttle back and forth with a home at both ends to meet his convenience. He has almost no responsibility towards either family, but privileges in both. Some men have even three families, and when the wives discover this they do not seem to mind.

When we went to Lung-hai 龍溪 for the investigation of iron ore there, the district leader, Lo 羅, who acted as our guide, told us that he once joined the church when Mr. Torrance was there. But since then he has married and has a large family. When we called on him at his home and congratulated him upon his success, he calmly said he had another family beyond the mountains which he has not seen for several years. Upon inquiry as to the reason, he simply said he had been married to a woman there when he went trading there as a young man. He has not been there for some years. It is a custom nobody thinks wrong or strange. I do not know whether you would call this an honor to women or not!

F. CUSTOMS IN RELATION TO RECREATIO

533 584 As we have already stated, the land is all in slopes, houses are scattered, and the roads are poor. Women are busy keeping the family fed. Men of the Ch'iang and Gia-rung communities help out by going into the mountains hunting or digging, or by carrying tea from Kwan-hsien 灌縣 into the grasslands, while among the Fan people most of the men are busy at their prayer wheels and scriptures. One would think life is a worry and dreary job. But no, it is not so. The tribes people do everything with joy, even suffering poverty. Streams of vocal music ring out from the mountains. It is the custom to sing while working. Their fondness of singing out-of-doors almost corresponds to that of the Norwegians toward dancing on the mountains. When one person is singing the whole valley echos back, and then someone hidden somewhere behind the rocks responds, and the mountain echos back again. They are innocent, natural, and free from the restrictions of etiquette. In this way lovers talk to each other, and this is sometimes the prelude to marriage.

177 the month is long or short and on which days the 24 chieh-ch'i occur,
805 that is, the dates according to which the weather predictions are
796 made. The Fantzu do not celebrate any Chinese calendar day except New Year. Not everybody knows when his birthday is or how old he is. They celebrate only the birthday of a Living Buddha, which coincides with the date of death of his previous incarnation.

532 The lay Mewu-Fantzu carry on art of any kind as little as they
341 do education. The arts of architecture, painting and sculpture are
792 practiced exclusively by the lamas. Only laymen who were once lamas may possibly engage in an art, for example, painting.

306 Although the tent nomads are very fond of ornaments, all their jewelry, except what comes from Inner Tibet, is made by Chinese and Mohammedans, albeit in strict Tibetan style. Nor do the women engage in any kind of artistic handwork, as for example embroidery.

533 It is different with music. The nomads cultivate simple folk music as well as religious music. Their only musical instrument is the flute, which is made of brass or of the wing bones of the vulture. Both men and women play the flute. They play mostly in spring, in the second and third months, in their tents, out on the pasture and along the road. Special occasions for music-making are New Year and family festivals, where there is much drinking and courtship. They enjoy singing, and do a great deal of it, particularly the young men and girls, without instrumental accompaniment. They have drinking songs, shepherd songs, love songs sung on the mountains, and a New Year's song. Once I also heard a monotonous work song sung by women who were washing fleece. Most of the songs are sung in alternating parts for boys and girls. The melodies are reminiscent of melancholy /40/ Russian folk tunes, sometimes also Alpine yodels. I succeeded in noting down the following songs which were sung in the mountains in alternating parts between boys and girls:

I.
1. Do not go away.
2. When you return I'll tell you something nice.

II.
1. When you look up, you see mountains, and beyond the mountains there is a river.
2. Even though corals and pearls look like stones, they are as dear as gold and silver.
3. Even though my friend is Chinese, he is of royal blood.

III. 1. The arrow is fitted into the bow, the needles are in the case, we can sew silk well with them. 533 ●

2. It is much better if I can meet my Chinese friend on the slope of the mountain, near the huts (this means: it is more convenient for the Tibetan girl to have a rendezvous with a Chinese than to work in her tent camp).

IV. 1. I shall now climb up the mountain; tell me whether there is a Fu-yeh (Living Buddha) there, and whether he will bless me (touch me with his hand).

2. I shall now climb down into the valley: is there peace there now so that I can do my trading?

3. I shall visit my friends in the village, will the villagers then think ill of me? Is my friend at home?

/41/ Religion

In the religious field conditions among the Tibetans are similar to those of the Chinese, that is to say, a more highly developed religious system was superimposed on an ancient primitive folk religion which nevertheless remained alive in the heart of the people. Just as the vulgar form of Taoism developed essentially from Chinese popular religion, so the Bon religion developed from Tibetan folk religion. Superimposed upon this in China is Confucianism and the specifically Chinese form of Buddhism, while in Tibet Lamaism represents the specifically Tibetan form of Buddhism. (1) However, 184

1. Compare in this connection Rockhill, page 730: "Primitive Lamaism may be defined as a priestly mixture of Shivaic mysticism, magic and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry overlaid by the thinnest veneer of Mahayana Buddhism." (Compare Wadell 7), page 17) - and Schröder 8), page 258: "The 'faith' of the Tujen combines into a common stratum which as Lamaistic folk religion covers the entire field of the Yellow church... Shamanism - Bon religion - cult of Heaven.... popular Lamaism."

the role of Buddhism in China cannot compare in importance with

782 carved tablet is immediately made to be returned to the cave and the old one is burned before the god. At this moment, women are crying and complaining before the god, grumbling incessantly and discharging urine and fecal matter in front of the temple to show their grudge and resentment. When those who deliver the carved tablet to the cave return, the women start to sing some very obscene songs of praying for rain. (The words are recorded elsewhere.) Then they fill their wine jars with clean water and carry them back. Singing all the way, they do not stop singing until they reach Na-wa-chai. When they pass by Shang-san-chai, people there ask the praying-for-rain group to drink wine. But they do not stop and proceed to return to their own villages. Pouring the water from the jars before yei-bo, the local god, they think in this way they will get rain from the sky.

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Praying-for-rain Song

782 The Ch'iang have several praying-for-rain songs, one of which
539 is as follows:

Man's _____ often looks for woman's _____ very hungry, very thirsty!
Playing _____, ku-ku-ku; playing _____ ku-ku-ku;
Well, clouds are gathering!
Well, clouds and rains have all come!

782 All women participating in the praying for rain are married. Therefore, they can sing songs like this. In other songs, women may describe how they had intercourse with their husbands the previous night. However, we have never heard of any promiscuity among the Ch'iang during the praying for rain. This is different from the farming festival in India, but similar to the Dutch and German farmers who may have sexual contacts in the field during the sowing season.

/27/ Words and music in the Ch'iang song. (see following page).

782 While singing the praying-for-rain songs, singers, regardless of
533 the number, are divided into two groups. The first group sings one passage and the second group must repeat it. For instance, the first two lines of the song on the following page must be repeated by the

Words and music in the Ch'iang song.

533

7: Hu--34 E-5 (1937) 1941 AE3 Sino-Tibetan Border AE3
Ch'iang

782 two groups five or six times, and then they proceed to sing the following two verses which again are repeated twice. Before they start to 533 sing, each group must cheer loudly three times to call for rain, and the fourth cheer is the response that promises the coming of rain.

Conclusion

771 In the preceding pages, we have made a preliminary survey of the 774 beliefs and practices of the Ch'iang people. Although our subject includes both, practices are actually the expression of beliefs in practical life. How the Ch'iang worship and believe in ghosts and gods, how they are afraid of the evil influences of the ghosts and gods, and how they rely upon the power of the sorcerers and the function of sorcery, all these can be seen from their practices. The religion of the culturally advanced races is often an imaginative and philosophical affair that attempts to answer the last question in life and the universe. The beliefs of the primitive people have nothing to do with it. They are only problems related to daily or practical life. (15) The sorcerer does

15. Briffault, Sex in Religion,

not study theology. He is only an expert in solving practical problems. Therefore, analyzing the practices of the people is the only way to understand the primitive beliefs.

In the first section, we have mentioned animism and fetishism, and regard the Ch'iang beliefs as remaining at the stage of animism and fetishism. /28/ The names of Ti and Ch'iang were known as early as during the Yin-Shang period. We may doubt that a people of such a long history could remain in such a primitive stage. However, cases like this are not very rare in ethnology. Haven't the Eskimoes of the Arctic region in America, the Australian aborigines, and even the most backward Bushmen of southern Africa had a long history? Here we see that the length of history and the progress, or the lack of progress, in culture are two different things. Moreover, the existence of the Ch'iang animism and fetishism is a fact which is recognized by all observers who do not wear colored glasses. However, animism and fetishism are special terms in science. How they coincide with the belief in ghosts and gods requires a brief explanation. E.B. Tylor of Great Britain says that animism is a belief in ghosts and gods. (16)

16. Tylor, E.B., Primitive Culture, 5th ed., Murray, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 424.